

Message Text

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MONTEVIDEO 0299

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E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OAS, PORG, SHUM, UY
SUBJ: GOU MOVES TO RESOLVE DIFFERENCES WITH IAHR

REF: (A) MONTEVIDEO 0248 (B) AMBASSADOR-MC NIEL/TRAGEN
TELECON, JAN 26 (C) MONTEVIDEO 0300 (D) MONTEVIDEO 0301

1. SUMMARY. AT THE ELEVENTH HOURS, THE GOU BLINKED AND INSTRUCTED ITS REPRESENTATIVE TO POSTPONE THE VOTE ON THE SITE OF THE VIII OASGA. THEY ALSO PRESENTED A PAPER OUTLINING THEIR CONCEPT OF THE FRAMEWORK AND AGENDA FOR NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE IAHR WHICH WE CAN DRAW UPON IN OUR APPROACH TO THE IAHR ON BEHALF OF THE GOU. THESE MOVES BY THE GOU TO REPAIR ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE IAHR IF BROUGHT TO A POSITIVE CONCLUSION WOULD REPRESENT AN IMPORTANT BREAKTHROUGH ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS FRONT. WE SHOULD TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE GOU INITIATIVES AND USE OUR GOOD OFFICES TO MAINTAIN THE MOMENTUM TO BRING THE IAHR AND THE GOU TO EARLY NEGOTIATIONS. END SUMMARY.

2. AT AN EARLY MORNING SESSION TODAY (JANUARY 26), THE THIRD IN A SERIES OF EXTENDED MEETINGS I HAVE HAD WITH ARMED FORCES POLITICAL COMMISSION AND THE FOREIGN MINISTER OVER THE PAST THREE DAYS, A SUCCESSION OF
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DRAFTS WERE PROPOSED AND DISCUSSED TO ESTABLISH THE BASIS UPON WHICH CONVERSATIONS WITH THE IAHR WOULD BE HELD. THE FINAL PAPER PRESENTED BY THE GOU MARKED "SECRET" ESTABLISHES A) THE BASIS TO INITIATE CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN THE GOU AND THE IAHR AND B) DETAILS THE AGENDA ITEMS THE GOU WANTS TO BE DISCUSSED. AND EMBASSY TRANSLATION OF THIS PAPER FOLLOWS:

QUOTE

1) BASIS FOR INITATING CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN
URUGUAY AND THE IAHC

1) NO TREATMENT OF THE URUGUAYAN CASE NOR
THE REPORT OF THE IAHC IN THE NEXT OAS ASSEMBLY.

2) PERMANENT WITHDRAWAL OF THE IAHC REPORT
ON URUGUAY.

3) WITHDRAWAL OF THE URUGUAYAN COMMENTS ON
THE IAHC REPORT.

4) THAT THE MATTER OF WHAT HAPPENED IN THE
PAST WITH THE IAHC (AND URUGUAY) NOT BE RAISED AGAIN.
(NOTE: THE GOU MADE CLEAR THAT THIS REFERS TO PAST PROCEDURAL
AND PERSONALITY DIFFERENCES WITH THE IAHC, NOT TO SUBSTANTIVE
MATTERS.)

11) AGENDA FOR DISCUSSIONS

1) THE URUGUAYAN-IAHC CONVERSATIONS WILL
HAVE THE PURPOSE OF RESTORING GOOD FUTURE RELATIONS
BETWEEN THE TWO, ON THE BASIS THAT THE IAHC SHALL
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ACT AS CONSULTANT AND ADVISOR TO STUDY SPECIFIC ASPECTS
OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN URUGUAY AND PROPOSE
RECOMMENDATIONS WHICH, IN THE OPINION OF THE
COMMISSION, WILL IMPROVE ITS IMAGE.

2) THE CONVERSATION AND AGREEMENTS BETWEEN
URUGUAY AND THE IAHC SHALL BE COMPLETED URGENTLY.

3) UNTIL THE COMPLETION OF THE ABOVE,
CONSIDERATION OF THE SITE FOR THE VIII OAS ASSEMBLY
SHALL BE DEFERRED.

4) REACH AN AGREEMENT CONCERNING THE PERSONS
WHO ARE GOING TO REPRESENT EACH PARTY IN FUTURE
RELATIONS.

5) DETERMINE THE MANNER IN WHICH THE AGREE-
MENTS AND WORKING NORMS ACCEPTED BY MUTUAL AGREEMENT
WILL BE PUBLICIZED. UNQUOTE.

RESULT OF AN EXTENDED
DISCUSSION AND CHANGES. AT ONE POINT, THE GOU WAS

INSISTING THAT THE MINIMAL BASIS FOR THEIR ACCEPTING ANY CONVERSATIONS WITH THE IAHRC WOULD INCLUDE:
A) A COMMITMENT BY THE IAHRC THAT ITS CHAIRMAN BE REMOVED FROM THE COMMISSION AND B) IAHRC AGREEMENT THAT IT WOULD NOT REQUEST PERMISSION TO VISIT URUGUAY. THEY FINALLY BACKED OFF ON BOTH POINTS. I FAILED TO CONVINCE THEM THAT THEY WOULD BE BETTER ADVISED TO INCLUDE ON THE AGENDA DISCUSSION OF THE "DISPOSITION OF THE CURRENT REPORT OF THE COMMISSION" ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS IN URUGUAY AND THE ATTENDANT CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE GOU AND THE IAHRC. I STRESSED THAT ONE THE GOU HAD INDICATED BY ITS ATTITUDE IN THE NEGOTIATION THAT IT WAS PREPARED TO DEVELOP A NEW COOPERATIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE IAHRC, IT WOULD BE REASONABLE FOR URUGUAY TO
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ARGUE THAT THE CURRENT REPORT SHOULD BE SHELVED. BUT

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THEY INSISTED THAT THE IAHRC BE PRESENTED WITH THE PRECONDITION THAT THE REPORT AND URUGUAY'S RESPONSE TO THAT REPORT BE RETIRED BEFORE NEGOTIATIONS BEGIN.

4. THE GOU PREOCCUPATIIONS INCLUDED: A) FEAR THAT THE IAHRC WOULD NOT NEGOTIATE IN GOOD FAITH UNLESS THE USG SUPPORTED THE GOU POSITION AND GUARANTEED ITS ACCEPTABILITY TO THE IAHRC, AND B) CONCERN THAT A FAILURE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS DUE TO THE INTRANSIGENCE

OF THE IAHC WOULD NOT BE RECOGNIZED BY THE USG OR THE OAS. THEY KEPT HOLDING OFF ON A DECISION TO INSTRUCT THEIR OAS AMBASSADOR TO SEEK A POSTPONEMENT IN THE VOTE, IN THE HOPE THAT I COULD COMMIT THE US TO GUARANTEE THAT THEIR OBJECTIVES IN THE NEGOTIATIONS WOULD BE REALIZED. AT ONE POINT THIS MORNING THEY WERE VERY CLOSE TO THROWING UP THEIR HANDS AND GOING TO A VOTE. THEY BACKED OFF FINALLY WHEN I REVIEWED THE GOOD OFFICES POSITION THE US WOULD PLAY TO BRING BOTH PARTIES TO A NEGOTIATION. I POINTED OUT THAT SUCH A ROLE COULD ONLY SUCCEED IF OUR "GOOD OFFICES" WERE COMPLETELY NON-PARTISAN, AND EMPHASIZED TO BOTH PARTIES THE BENEFITS TO EACH OF FINDING COMMON GROUND. WE COULD GUARANTEE THAT WE WOULD ACT AS AN HONEST BROKER, AND THAT IT WAS PRECISELY OUR OBJECTIVITY AND SUPPORT OF A SUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATION THAT WOULD BEST
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SERVE THE INTEREST OF THE GOU AND THE IAHC.

5. THE GOU PAPER IS A FLAWED DOCUMENT. BUT, COUPLED WITH THE GOU DECISION TO POSTPONE THE OAS VOTE, IT IS PROOF OF GOU EARNEST IN SEEKING A RAPPROCHMENT WITH THE IAHC. OUR MAJOR CONTRIBUTION FROM NOW AND UNTIL THE TIME THE TWO PARTIES REACH THE TABLE IS TO KEEP THE MOMENTUM GOING IN THAT DIRECTION. I WOULD APPRECIATE THE DEPARTMENT'S VIEWS AND THOSE OF THE COLOMBIAN MEMBER OF THE IAHC IN WASHINGTON ON THE GOU FRAMEWORK AND AGENDA SO I CAN KEEP THE GOU INFORMED OF THE MOMENTUM ON THE WASHINGTON END. WE SHOULD ALSO DRAW ON THE GOU PAPER IN PREPARING OUR APPROACH TO THE IAHC.

6. I HAVE ASKED BRIG. BORAD TO PROVIDE ME AN EARLY LIST OF THE GOU MEMBERS ON THE SPECIAL DELEGATION. I HAVE BEEN ASSURED THAT THERE WILL BE NEW FACES (PROBABLY THOSE MENTIONED IN REFERENCE (A)). I EMPHASIZED TO BORAD THE SYMBOLIC IMPORTANCE OF DEMONSTRATING TO THE IAHC THAT THE GOU INDEED WAS NAMING A DELEGATION MADE UP OF MEMBERS WHO WERE NOT PREJUDICED BY THE DEALINGS OF THE PAST. THIS SHOULD ASSIST IN GETTING THE IAHC TO AGREE TO NAME A SIMILARLY OBJECTIVE DELEGATION. (NOTE: WE HAVE TO ENSURE THAT THE IAHC UNDERSTANDS AT SOME LEVEL THAT THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMISSION, LUIS AGUILAR, IS TOTALLY, REPEAT TOTALLY, UNACCEPTABLE TO THE GOU. ANY INDICATION THAT HE WOULD BE INVOLVED IN THE NEGOTIATIONS WILL POISON THE ATMOSPHERE.)

7. WE ARE DEALING HERE WITH A LEADERSHIP GROUP, MOSTLY MILITARY, WHO HAVE HAD NO PAST EXPERIENCE IN DIPLOMATIC NEGOTIATIONS. CONSEQUENTLY, THEY ARE UNSURE OF THEM-

SELVES, SUSPICIOUS OF THE MOTIVES OF OTHERS, AND HIGHLY
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SENSITIVE. THESE FACTORS MUST BE KEPT IN MIND AS WE
PLAY OUT GOOD OFFICES ROLE. ANY OFFICIAL CONFIRMATION
OF THE INTERMEDIARY ROLE WE ARE PLAYING COULD ABORT
THIS ENTIRE EFFORT.

8. WE MAY WITNESS AN IMPORTANT BREAKTHROUGH IF ALL GOES
WELL. ESSENTIAL TO THIS WILL BE A POSITIVE STANCE BY
THE IAHRC (AND THE GOU) DURING THIS PRELIMINARY PERIOD,
AND LATER WHEN THEY ENTER INTO NEGOTIATIONS. WE
HAVE TO COORDINATE CLOSELY TO ENSURE THAT BOTH PARTIES
KEEP MOVING IN A CONSTANTLY POSITIVE DIRECTION.
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